2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

865 speak of what they did. Only we would keep away from them. After a while they would know." (31)

"If a man took my horse without permission and lamed it, I would not say anything. I would even lend him the horse again. If I should get angry with him, he would have a right to be angry with me." (20)

865 626 One woman confessed to the writer that some children who had just come back from the white school were bullying her small children and using indecent language. It was unthinkable that she should speak to the parents of the offenders. She had either to suffer or to move away. If the whipping custom be assumed to be a Spanish importation, the village authorities themselves had no means of enforcing proper behavior. They endured in silence to the point where they asked an undesirable to move. Minor nonconformities passed without a sign.

626 When the writer was inquiring about certain rigorous ceremonial usages which seemed to demand a good deal of sacrifice with little obvious reward, she asked: "If a man did not do this would he be blamed?" "No." "Would people avoid him?" "No." "Would they think him a coward?" "No. They would just think he was a man who didn't like purification" (9). Tolerance could scarcely go further.

626 152 This unwillingness to show offense could hardly operate if it had not its obverse in an extreme sensitiveness. The person blamed realizes his position to the full, sometimes to the point of violent suffering. An old story illustrates this:

> "A gambler having gambled away all his own possessions, bet his wife's baskets and lost them. (It is to be understood that he had lost all his own possessions before. It was the loss of the wife's property which was serious.) The wife did not reproach him, openly. But that evening she poured the food into a hole in the ground, saying, "I suppose this is the serving dish you like since you have taken away my basket." The man got up and left without touching the food. He went to a high rock near the village. It was evening and the people were all outside the houses. He shouted until they looked up and then threw himself down." (20)

The writer has seen incidents based upon the same attitude. When she was talking to an old hunter about his own subject, hunting, an old woman in the household wanted attention. She whispered to the writer several times: "He hasn't got it right." The hunter took offense. "I shall talk no more," he said. "I am probably an old man, who knows nothing." Three days of assurance and

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persuasion were necessary before he would talk again. Yet he was aware that he was an authority and that the interruptor had no status.

The objection to adverse comment, even though only sensed, not heard, is a sufficient motive for good conduct. When a young girl is advised not to interfere with her husband, she is told: "If you keep him at home, he cannot hunt. Then there will be nothing to eat and he will go to the neighbors. They will feed him but *they will speak about you.*"

This fear of being "spoken about" was actually the controlling factor in Papago society. In the intimate group, the affairs of everyone were wide open for inspection and any selfishness, dishonesty, treachery, or sexual looseness became common knowledge. The penalty was unpopularity among the neighbors who were one's only associates. They would slack in their food gifts; they would make excuses when asked to a working bee; they would warn against marriage alliances with the family. It was, in fact, the family that suffered and not the individual offender and therefore, the family would reform him if possible or, at least, make good his lapses. There was little need for the authorities to take action when the family machinery could thus be kept in order by public opinion.

A potent aid to this gossip control was the fear of witchcraft. The methods of sorcery will be taken up in connection with the shaman, but it may be mentioned here that every shaman was considered a potential worker of evil magic and therefore it was highly dangerous to offend him, his family or those who might be paying him. Papago life seems to have been shot through and through with this fear of magic for the Spanish account says:

> The whole country is given over to witchcraft... Many fatal illnesses and sudden deaths are due to witchcraft. ... Witches even kill each other.[1]
>
> In all the ranches or villages there have always been one or more sorcerers.[2]

All unexplained ills of life, the accidents and the incurable disease, were imputed to the evil shaman and all felt themselves continually surrounded by this malign power. When we realize how little opportunity there was in Papago life for the violence, theft and physical degeneracy which occur in modern society, we must set against this freedom the constant dread of magic. One can imagine signs of it yet in the fantastic machinations imputed to any stranger and the resistance toward new proposals as mysteriously evil.

[1] Apostolicos Afanes, pp. 238, 240. [2] Rudo Ensayo, p. 171.

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smile. When one is angry, his face simply becomes expressionless. 201
The writer has heard of Papagos who attacked one another in anger but in a fairly long experience has seen no demonstration of the emotion except for people to walk away muttering, or sit, head down in silence. Laughter is constant, but it expresses good nature 201
rather than amusement. Humor being so tied to time and place 522
as it is, the writer found difficulty in grasping Papago jokes, but she noted a large number which turned on tricks of pronunciation. Endless amusement was derived by ridiculing the dialect of another group and many of the Coyote stories would have been pointless were it not for the speech of Coyote himself who always talks tongue-tied. There were the usual number of obscene tales, told in any group and before any relative. And there was always huge enjoyment in applying a name to anyone, even such simple names as Broken Basket or He Fell in the River.

Public behavior is very restrained. People do not touch one 576
another or show affection except to children. There are no small words of courtesy. Instead of greeting, one stands smiling at the door of a house, waiting to be invited in. As a farewell, one says: "I am going" and receives the permission: "Go then." "Thank you" and "forgive me," are considered futile substitutes for deeds which should show the speaker's attitude. In the rare cases when blame is voiced by a father or some qualified person, there is no positive word which can be used. He must say, "it is not good," or, "not like people," *i. e.*, not polite.

Praise also is rarely used. The individual, feeling himself a necessary part of the group, does not need the constant flattery which comforts the lonely fighter in a different form of society. Papagos are so unused to this version of politeness that the lightly spoken compliments of Whites disconcert them. They consider the speaker to be either grovelling or making an important communication.

But while avoiding the extremes of blame or praise, communication proceeds with great etiquette so as not to hurt any one's feelings. The writer, having asked the interpreter to make the proper approach to a new subject, was always impressed by the almost courtly care with which polite openings were sought and cautiously followed up. One may ascribe some of the courtliness to Spanish influence but a wholesale adoption of Spanish manners would involve flattery also.

Motions and thinking are in slow tempo. Much of this can be 152
credited to the heat, but it is to be remembered that the Papago, like [147]
many Indians, have a slower heartbeat than Whites. Their calm

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152 rhythm, achieved, perhaps, over centuries, is one of the factors in their contentment and good nature and one to be considered in any educational system which would involve their speeding up. The writer, having long admired the lack of nervous irritability in the Papago found herself, on two or three occasions, in situations where she had to urge her Papago friends to extreme haste. They went to pieces under it much more quickly than Whites who are prepared for such a strain. It would be futile to expect them to bring their admirable nervous control into the atmosphere of speed and strain which often accompanies White activity.

178 Papago culture is still an integrated one. The two hundred years and more of leisurely and voluntary contacts with the Whites have not disturbed the balance of organization between the individual and the community and have left the life such that the average individual can still live it with contentment and satisfaction. But this culture is breaking up and Whites who oversee the process have the interesting problem of inculcating a set of virtues and inhibitions almost directly opposite to the former ones, without too destructive a period of transition.

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the Spaniards instituted the office of governor and the Americans continued it. Chona's father was the governor of Mesquite Root (kuitatk), an ancient village now abandoned, and Chona spent her girlhood there under conditions differing very little from those of pre-Spanish days.

The story of her past was her constant preoccupation, and snatches of it were narrated at every apportunity. Most of it was taken through an interpreter, for, though the writer spoke a little Papago and Chona a little Spanish, it seemed desirable that her words should be transcribed exactly. They were not taken in text but in as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out. The wording, therefore, expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be.

The arrangement, however, is the writer's. Chona is ninety years old and her memory works with the fitfulness of age, presenting incidents in repetitious confusion. The only possible system was to write each one separately, add to it all the amendments which occurred to her during the years of our acquaintance, and then to question her patiently about the chronology until the correct order was worked out. She repeated each episode so often, however, that there was finally no question as to their sequence.

But the matter of accuracy in both chronology and wording being settled, there still remain, in presenting an Indian autobiography, important questions of technique. Indian narrative style involves a repetition and a dwelling on unimportant details which confuse the White reader and make it hard for him to follow the story. Motives are never explained and the writer has found even Indians at a loss to interpret them in the older myths. Emotional states are summed up in such colorless phrases as "I liked it," "I did not like it." For one not deeply immersed in the culture, the real significance escapes. [152]

The writer felt most deeply the objections to distorting Chona's narrative. Yet if it had been written down exactly as she herself emitted it, there would have been immense emphasis on matters strange to her but commonplace to Whites and complete omission of some of the most interesting phases in her development. Therefore a pattern was followed. While the essentials of the narratives were retained it is hoped at every point, many of the repetitions were excised and the reader is warned of this fact just as he is warned, in the preface to a grammar, that certain phonetic changes regularly take place.

On the other hand, Chona was not allowed to pass over the crises of her life with a mere word. While she had no objection to expressing her emotional states, she took them for granted. But, on being asked, she would amplify in such vivid phrases as "Fear went through me like a snake."

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My father was a gambler, too. He used to go all over our country playing against the men. Beads and necklaces he used to bring me back from the River People. And sometimes he took all the family with him when there were races between the villages and all our young men ran. But he would not let me run at those races nor bet on them.

"Wait till you are married," he said. "When you have a husband he will take you to the feasts. They are for married people, not for young girls."

He would not let me go to any feasts at all, not even to the maiden's dances, when they happened in our own village and to my own cousins. When a maiden came of age, the people sometimes danced every night until the moon got back to where it was when they began. The men and women danced with their arms over each other's shoulders. We wore nothing on our bodies above the waist then. The young men liked that. It is said that some young girls did not come home at night. It is said that some babies were dropped in the arroyo and no one knew.

They told me that there were women who went alone to those dances, the wild women, who did not work and who went about painted every day. Corn ears they painted on their breasts and birds and butterflies, each breast different for the men to see. And a woman's breast, in that dance, comes just where a man's hand can reach it.

I began to dream of those wild women. They can haunt you just as the Prisoners do. They make men and women crazy, sometimes so that they run out and die. Then you must make little clay dolls, a man and a woman, and have the medicine man sing over them to quiet the sick person. I was not bad enough for that, but sometimes, when I sat alone at my basketry, it would seem to me that I saw a boy and a girl making love and it made me wild.

And I dreamed strange things. Once my mother sent me after water and I was all alone; the other girls had gone earlier in the day. I had to cross a dry wash. As I came up to it, there I saw a snake three times as thick as a man. That wash was full of caves, and the snake's head was in one of them, his tail in another, with his body stretched all across the wash. When I tried to cross it, he would hit me on the legs. I ran home without the water and my father was angry. My mother came with me to see what was the matter and there was no snake there.

And I kept hearing flutes; flutes in the morning and evening. Such lovely music that I would stand still in the house to listen. I thought my crystals were growing again.

3: Whited G-5 (1890) 1894 NT15 River Yumans
Papago NU28

The Papagos are not addicted to
intoxicating drink, but smoking and gambling are so common among them that they will even stake their clothing on races, either by men or horses, and on the simple games with which they are familiar.

RELIGION.—The Papagos are nominally Catholics. Adults and children wear crosses and charms. They believe in witches and evil spirits, and buy charms to insure good luck.

At the little village of Ki-ki-wah, where there are a number of returned scholars, it was said that a simple service was held by these "graduates", in which they explained on Sundays the things they had learned about the white man's religion. At the village called Gunsight 2 Mormons have been living among the Indians for nearly 2 years.

EDUCATION.—The Papago youth of both sexes show considerable capacity for mental culture. Many of the Papagos speak Spanish fluently, even after having been at school for 2 or 3 years. When at home on their vacations they only hear Papago and Spanish, which tends to the disuse of what English they have acquired. They are docile, mild in disposition, and well inclined toward their teachers. They learn slowly but surely. The chief difficulty of receiving any permanent benefit from educating them is that they are so disastrously affected by the conditions which meet them when they return to their homes. They virtually return to barbarism and all old influences of a nonprogressive character.

The boys readily learn improved methods of agriculture, also the trades of tinsmith, blacksmith, and carpenter, while the girls learn sewing, cooking, and the general duties of housekeeping.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE.—During the 3 years of the Tucson Presbyterian mission school 73 Papago children have been enrolled. There are 50 now on the rolls. The number enrolled at the San Xavier reservation schools is about 20. At Sacaton there are 15 Papagos on the roll. The government school there is well conducted.

It will be seen that in the district visited, with the addition of the Papago scholars at San Xavier, not more than 100 in all of these children are in school. The total number of Papago children of school age is probably about 2,000. Their parents will exercise no authority to secure their attendance at school even when they wish them to go, nor, on the other hand, do they hinder them if they desire an education.

PATHOLOGICAL.—The Papagos are very liable to consumption and pneumonia. This arises from the exposure to which they are subject in inclement weather, as all mud roofs leak in protracted rains and a pitch sufficient to carry off the rain would cause the adobe itself to wash off entirely. Many of the tribe are pitted badly with smallpox. Children are subject to measles and whooping cough in addition to lung difficulties. The Papagos have no medical treatment whatever among themselves, and in case of sickness resort to the "medicine man" with his mummeries.

The Indians seem to be able to deal with flesh injuries, but are powerless in cases of disease or fractures of bones. In acute local pain they sometimes put a pinch of cotton on the flesh and burn it there, repeating the process on a new spot at a little distance. Ordinarily their only resource is stoical submission.

SAN CARLOS AGENCY.

Report of Special Agent STEPHEN WHITED on the Indians of the White Mountain Apache reservation, Fort Apache subagency, and the Apache, Mohave, and Papago Indians of the San Carlos agency, Arizona, from August to November, 1890.

Names of Indian tribes or parts of tribes occupying reservations: (a) Arivaipai, Chilles, Chiricahua, Coiotero, Mimbres, Mogollon, Mohavi, Pinal, San Carlos, Santo, Tonto, and Yuma-Apache.

The unallotted area of the White Mountain reservation is 2,816,000 acres, or 3,500 square miles. The outboundaries have been surveyed. It was established, altered, or changed by executive orders November 9, 1871, December 14, 1872, August 5, 1873, July 21, 1874, April 27, 1876, and January 26 and March 31, 1877.

Indian population June 1, 1890: White Mountain Apaches, 3,121; White Mountain reservation, Fort Apache subagency, 1,320; total Apaches, 4,441; Mohave reservation, 331; Yuma reservation, Mohaves, 310; total at agency, 4,882.

The San Carlos agency is situated on a mesa immediately below the junction of the San Carlos with the Gila river. The altitude is about 2,800 feet above sea level. The records of the United States signal service show that the highest temperature for the summer of 1890 reached, July 6, 109°, the lowest for the winter of 1889–1890 was January 20, being 29°. The earliest frost in the fall of 1889 was November 2, and the latest frost in the spring of 1890 was March 16.

The agent reports to the Indian Office that many government buildings at San Carlos are in bad order. They consist of: No. 1, an adobe building 1 story high, 30 by 60 feet, one-half used as agent's dwelling, one-half for storehouse for grain, $1,000; No. 2, a 2-story adobe, built around a court, whole length about 300 feet, used for agent's offices, telegraph office, several rooms for dwelling, storerooms, shops, etc., whole in bad order, needs new roof, $3,000; No. 3, several small adobe buildings in rear of No. 2, used for shops, storerooms, etc., $200; No. 4, an adobe building, 1 story high, 32 by 52 feet, used as a meat shop, $300; No. 5, an adobe building, used for doctor's office and hospital, in bad order, $500; No. 6, a new stone building, 1 story high, 30 by 120 feet, with 4 cross partitions, built for storage, $5,000; No. 7, a stone building, same size as No. 6, now building, for shops; No. 8, a frame steam gristmill, $6,000; No. 9, a frame water gristmill (at Fort Apache), $6,000.

a The statements giving tribes, areas, and laws for agencies are from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1890, pages 494–502. The population is the result of the census.